

The LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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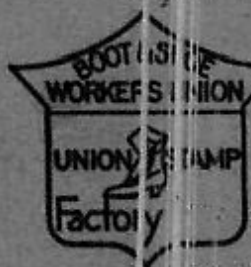
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Named shoes are frequently made
in Non-Union factories

Do Not Buy Any Shoe

no matter what its name, unless it bears a plain and
readable impression of this **UNION STAMP**

All shoes without the **UNION STAMP**
are always Non-Union

Do not accept any excuse for absence of the **UNION STAMP**
BOOT and SHOE WORKERS' UNION

TWO-FORTY-SIX SUMMER STREET

BOSTON, MASS.

JOHN T. TOLIN, President

CHAS. L. BAINE, Sec'y Treas.

THE LADIES' GARMENT WORKER

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THE AWARD IN THE CASE OF THE CLEVELAND CLOAKMAKERS

A struggle which has been in progress in Cleveland for about nine years was brought to a close last month through the referees appointed by the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War. The award gives the workers a fair increase in wages, the right to organize and the right to bargain collectively with the employers through the workers' shop committees. This is almost all that our International Union has been asking of the Cleveland cloak manufacturers since a number of years and just prior to the intervention of the War Department. In a sense, the consummation is even better than desired, since the award and the conditions gained bear the seal of the United States Government.

In keeping with the occasion it is worth while turning to the pages of history and extract a brief record of the strenuous and protracted conflict between our International Union and the cloak manufacturers of Cleveland.

As yet at our 1910 International convention held in Boston the general officers of that time referred to a strike at the firm of Printz, Biederman and Company. The union had lost that strike and the failure aggravated the status of the workers in the shops. The union, however, was not discouraged, but formed even a stronger determination to renew the struggle at the next favorable opportunity.

Such an opportunity seemed to be present in the summer of 1911. Ten months before, our International Union had risen to a high position by the great victory of the cloakmakers in New York. It had grown numerically from a membership of 15,000 all told to a strength of 65,000. Our New York locals within a short time amassed ample treasuries. Our International Union alone possessed a big capital, and its moral prestige was supreme. Could there have been a better opportunity for undertaking organizing work in Cleveland?

No doubt it was necessary to take stock of the fact that the circumstances in Cleveland were different. But the thought of the victory in New York rendered the union leaders of that time too optimistic. They were certain of victory in Cleveland even before the strike was called.

After a bitter struggle prolonged for twenty-two weeks and involving an expense of over \$400,000, when all local treasuries had been already exhausted, the workers had to return to work defeated and depressed.

Long harbored feelings of revenge smoldered in the minds of the manufacturers against their employees and against the union. In 1913, when our International Union conducted two strikes for improved conditions—in Philadelphia and St. Louis—the Cleveland manufacturers openly espoused the cause of the employers in those two cities and helped to break the two strikes.

For a period of four years the situation in Cleveland for our union was in a state of dead inertia. In 1914, when the new administration of the International Union won its first victory in the Philadelphia cloak industry, the general officers, through counsel got into personal touch with Mr. Maurice Black, President of the Western Cloak and Skirt Manufacturers' Association. That approach on our part was an amicable proposition to the Cleveland manufacturers for a business understanding with the union that would have assured permanent peace in the local industry. But the employers proudly looked askance at the proposition, and in 1915 our International Union launched a campaign of preparedness to enlighten the Cleveland cloak-makers and arouse them to activity.

And in course of the last three years our International Union did not relinquish its hold on the Cleveland situation. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent on agitation, organizing work and strikes in individual shops in Cleveland, and all this while our union was waging bitterly-fought strikes in New York and in many cities and towns in the United States and Canada. In fact, the organizing campaign in Cleveland, including the strike of 1911, must have cost our International Union nearly a million dollars.

The last convention in Boston decided upon a final and decisive attempt to organize the Cleveland cloak workers and improve their conditions. And our general officers informed the local association of that decision and invited the manufacturers to a conference with a view to a peaceful adjustment and prevention of a strike. Our demands were extremely moderate. We desired an increase of wages and an understanding as to collective bargaining, or a machinery for settling disputes. The manufacturers, however, ignored the businesslike communication of the union and a strike was called early in July.

The union on its part was willing to refer the dispute to arbitration, but the manufacturers refused to budge from their ancient position. As the strike caused the suspension of military work in a number of shops, the Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, stepped into the breach by appointing a committee of three referees with power to investigate conditions and give a final decision. As previously recorded, the referees were Dr. E. M. Hopkins, assistant to the Secretary of War; Major Samuel J. Rosensohn, J. A. G., U. S. A., and Mr. John R. McLane. The points in dispute were to be decided by the arbitrators in conformity with a clearly worded plan drawn up by the Secretary of War and accepted by both parties.

On Wednesday, October 17th, the final hearing commenced at Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H. The manufacturers were represented by Messrs. Maurice Black and H. New of the Landesman, Hirschheimer Company, their efficiency engineers, counsel, and others. Our union was represented by President Schlesinger, Vice President M. Pearlstein and a committee from the Cleveland workers consisting of S. Weinzimmer, A. Nour and Estelle Cutchara. The hearing continued for three days. On Saturday afternoon the referees handed down the following award, which speaks for itself:

The Award

The undersigned, in response to the requests of the employers and Mr. Benjamin Schlesinger, President of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, representing the striking workers of Cleveland engaged in the cloak, suit, skirt and dress industry, were duly appointed, by the Secretary of War, referees to investigate and adjudicate the issues in dispute between the employers and workers in these trades.

Promptly after such appointment, upon direction of the referees, the workers then on strike returned to work and were taken back.

The referees proceeded to Cleveland, heard the respective parties, and caused an investigation to be made of the general conditions in the industry in Cleveland and the wages paid, and a similar investigation of conditions and wages in other cities which are centers of a similar industry.

At the outset, the referees desire to express their appreciation of the spirit shown by the employers, the workers and the union, all of whom in good faith endeavored to bring before the referees the actual facts, and in a fair and impartial spirit to suggest remedies for such difficulties as existed.

Annexed hereto, marked Schedule "A," is the scale of wages which the referees hereby fix as the wages to be paid in the industry in Cleveland.

Pursuant to the requests which occasioned the appointment of the referees, these wages are to date back to August 1, 1918, and shall continue for a period of not less than eight months from that date, and any subsequent adjustment shall be made on the basis of changes in the cost of living. The employers shall have until November 16th, 1918, within which to reimburse the workers for the excess in the wages hereby fixed over those paid for the period from August 1st to the date when this report shall take effect, and in order to adjust any disputes as to the amount of such excess and any claims for excess sums due for piece work performed in the interval, where an employer and his workers fail to agree, Stanley M. Isaacs, Esq., Secretary of the referees, is hereby designated as the representative of the referees to settle and adjust such disputes, his decision to be final and binding upon both workers and employers.

In many ways the industry in the city of Cleveland is far in advance of the same industry in other cities, in matters of safety and sanitation, in the amicable relations between employers and employees and in the regularity and permanence of employment. The manufacturers of Cleveland, with a full recognition of their duty as leaders of their industry, have made serious and in great measure successful efforts towards solving some of the most difficult problems which have affected that industry, often at great pecuniary sacrifice in the interest of that industry and to promote the welfare of their workers.

But the fact that a strike occurred this year at a time when continuous production was of the greatest importance to the government shows plainly the need of some permanent plan for the adjustment of disputes that would

render unnecessary a resort to industrial warfare. The working out of such an adequate plan is of such great importance, that the referees have thought it desirable that more time be given to its consideration. They have therefore postponed their decision on this question for one month.

In devising such a plan the following principles should be carefully considered:

First: Where it is of vital importance in an industry performing, side by side with private work, work of fundamental necessity to the government that such industry shall be operated with the maximum of efficiency, it is of equal importance, and a necessary adjunct to such efficiency as may be achieved in the industry, that there should be a proper respect paid to the essential human rights of the workers and an adequate safeguarding of the conditions under which they labor and of the sufficiency of the remuneration which they receive. These two factors must be given equal weight. In the report and recommendation of the Council of Conciliation in the Cloak and Suit Industry, the council, consisting of Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman; Charles L. Bernheimer, Louis D. Brandeis, Henry Bruere, George W. Kirchwey and Walter C. Noyes said: "Industrial efficiency may not be sacrificed to the interests of the workers; for how can it be to their interest to destroy the business on which they depend for a living, nor may efficiency be declared paramount to the human rights of the workers; for how in the long run can the industrial efficiency of a country be maintained if the human values of its workers are diminished or destroyed. The delicate adjustment required to reconcile the two principles named must be made. Peace and progress depend upon complete loyalty in the effort to reconcile them."

Second: Where the workers are asked to refrain from general and shop strikes and the employer from individual and general lockouts, some machinery must necessarily be devised and put into operation in which the interests of employers and workers will be impartially protected, and by means of which all grievances and disputes can be adjusted with complete fairness as well as with the expedition that is naturally required to satisfy those directly affected.

Third: The referees are bound by the provision of the call for their appointment which provided expressly that any plan for the creation of machinery for the adjustment of labor differences in Cleveland shall be subject to the restriction that the manufacturers shall not be required to enter into any agreements with the union of the workers, nor shall the union be required to enter into any agreements with the Cleveland Cloak, Suit, Skirt and Dress Manufacturers' Association, but that the decisions of the said referee or referees shall be the working arrangement of both parties."

The referees, finding this condition and being subject to such limitation, feel that the situation in Cleveland is one particularly for the application of the principles laid down by the National War Labor Board with reference to the right to organize. These are as follows:

Right to Organize

The right of workers to organize in trade unions and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever.

The right of employers to organize in associations or groups and to bargain collectively through chosen representatives is recognized and affirmed. This right shall not be denied, abridged or interfered with by the workers in any manner whatsoever.

Employers should not discharge workers for membership in trade unions, nor for legitimate trade union activities.

The workers, in the exercise of their right to organize, should not use coercive measures of any kind to induce persons to join their organizations nor to induce employers to bargain or deal therewith.

Existing Conditions

In establishments where the union shop exists the same shall continue, and the union standards as to wages, hours of labor, and other conditions of employment shall be maintained.

In establishments where union and non-union men and women now work together and the employer meets only with employees or representatives engaged in said establishments, the continuance of such conditions shall not be deemed a grievance. This declaration, however, is not intended in any manner to deny the right or discourage the practice of the formation of labor unions or the joining of the same by the workers in said establishments, as guaranteed in the preceding section, nor to prevent the War Labor Board from urging or any umpire from granting, under the machinery herein provided, improvement of their situation in the matter of wages, hours of labor or other conditions as shall be found desirable from time to time.

Established safeguards and regulations for the protection of the health and safety of workers shall not be relaxed.

It is with these principles in mind that the plan should be formulated.

It is obvious that any plan for the adjustment of labor conditions, no matter how perfect it may be, will fail unless it is carried out in good faith and with the mutual good will of employers and workers, union and non-union alike; and that a plan, even though concededly imperfect, should succeed if it is adopted, carried forward and perfected in a spirit of genuine cooperation. No harmony in the industrial relations between the employers and workers in Cleveland can be sound or enduring unless it is the offspring of good will and mutual understanding on the part of all concerned. Accordingly, we urge most strongly that all the parties make special effort to make the plan for the adjustment of disputes a success not merely by complying with the express terms of its provisions but with the spirit which has prompted its adoption. All concerned, employers and workers, union leaders and members and non-union men and women, should use their utmost endeavors to create a spirit of helpfulness and toleration in the settling and disposition of the many inherent difficulties which each side has to meet. Patience, good will and faith in the ultimate results will render a repetition of industrial warfare unnecessary and even impossible in Cleveland.

The referees will remain ready to be consulted on the questions left for future determination, or with respect to any further problems of general concern that may present themselves for solution.

Pending the final adoption of a plan for the adjustment of disputes, piece prices shall be fixed on the hourly basis fixed by the referees by an agreement between the manufacturer either (1) with a committee of the whole shop engaged in that particular department, or (2) with a committee chosen by the employees of the shop without any supervision on the part of the manufacturer. It is the purpose of the referees pending the final adoption of the plan for adjustment to interfere as little as possible with existing machinery which complies with any of the conditions above set forth.

SCHEDULE "A"

Wages.

The following are hereby fixed as the wages in the cloak, suit, skirt and dress industry in Cleveland:

For men:

	For Week Workers	Basic Rate for Piece Workers
Cutters:		
Pattern graders.....	\$34.00	
Full skilled cutters.....	33.00	
Lining and cloth pilers.....	26.00	
Under six months in trade.....	15.00	
Machine Operators:		
Head tailors.....	33.00	
Skilled operators.....	32.00	85 cents
Semi-skilled operators.....	27.00	75 cents
Minor operators and special machine work.....	27.00	75 cents
Under sixth months in trade—		
For first six weeks.....	12.00	
After six weeks.....	14.00	
Sample Tailors:		
Jacket tailor.....	30.00	
Dress tailor.....	30.00	
Skirt tailor.....	25.00	
Pressers:		
All-around pressers.....	31.00	85 cents
Fore pressers.....	26.00	75 cents
Part pressers.....	25.00	
Under six months in the trade—		
For first six weeks.....	12.00	
After six weeks.....	14.00	
Hand Sewers:		
Skilled hand sewers.....	26.50	60 cents
Semi-skilled sewers.....	21.50	45 cents
Under six months in trade—		
For first six weeks.....	12.00	
After six weeks.....	14.00	

For women:

Machine Operators:		
Skilled operators—		
Cloak and suit.....	\$22.00	55 cents
Skirt.....	21.00	50 cents
Semi-skilled operators—		
Cloak and suit.....	21.00	50 cents
Skirt.....	19.00	45 cents
Minor operators.....	19.00	45 cents
Pressers:		
Fore pressers.....	21.50	
Part pressers.....	20.00	
Hand Sewers:		
Skilled.....	20.00	50 cents
Semi-skilled.....	16.50	40 cents

Women under six months in the trade shall receive \$10.00 for the first six weeks and \$12.00 thereafter.

Different bases for piece prices have been fixed for women when the women are doing a different class of work. In all cases where women perform the same work as men, they shall receive equal pay for equal work.

Upon the adjustment of piece rates, prices shall be computed on a basis that will yield to the respective workers of average skill and experience the hourly rates fixed by the referees for each operation.

Overtime

All week workers and piece workers shall receive pay at the rate of time and one-half for overtime. In the case of piece workers, overtime shall be computed as follows: The total wage earned by the piece worker for the week on the normal basic rate shall be figured and divided by the number of hours of work. For all hours of overtime there shall be paid an additional sum equal to one-half of the average hourly earning of such worker.

The above classes shall be defined as settled in the classification submitted and agreed upon in that submission.

The analysis of the data of wage rates and of earnings submitted to the referees shows clearly that in the Cleveland market, on account of differences in methods, it is necessary to differentiate between base wage rates and earnings. This applies particularly to the H. Black Company and the Printz-Biederman Company, where additional wage rewards in proportion to production have been introduced and in operation. Employees have thus been enabled to earn amounts not only equal to, but in excess of the usual base rate. This difference must be recognized; in order that all workers in all the Cleveland establishments may be on the same wage basis; the base rates in these two companies shall be on the base comprising not less than 80 per cent of the weekly rates established by this board.

This award shall date back to August 1st. For the period from August 1st to the date hereof each week worker shall be paid a sum equal to the difference between the wages actually received by him or her for all hours of actual work during said period and the sum which said worker would have received at the rate of wage fixed by this award.

As to piece workers, adjustment of back pay shall be made by agreement between the shop committees and the employer in each shop. In case of disagreement the percentage of increase to be given the piece workers shall be referred to the referees or such person as shall be designated by them.

Dated: Oct. 19, 1918.

(Signed) E. M. HOPKINS,

(Signed) SAMUEL J. ROSENTHAL, Major, J. A. G., U. S. A.,
Office of Secretary of War.

(Signed) JOHN R. McLANE

A committee of a few workers who came to testify in behalf of the manufacturers submitted a claim that the workers were earning sufficient wages and required no increase. What the impression of the referees was at hearing this claim can be imagined better than described.

* * *

The Hon. Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, deserves the first thanks of our International Union and of the Cleveland Cloakmakers. As former city mayor of Cleveland, Mr. Baker rightly sized up the situation and became

keenly interested in the question of settling the dispute. Our International Union desires to thank the referees—Dr. E. M. Hopkins, Major Samuel J. Rosensohn and Mr. John R. McLane—for their whole-hearted work and impartial award. Thanks are due to the Cleveland Plain Dealer for its publicity aid. The local labor press, particularly the Cleveland Citizen, and several labor men rendered good service and deserve our gratitude.

Now, our brother cloakmakers of Cleveland must get busy building up a strong, solid union that should be proof against attack and storm. Human life and the life of organizations are never sure of the future unless they take precautionary measures, especially in times like the present. We must always provide against unforeseen occurrences, be prepared and vigilant, guarding our liberties, our rights and our newly-won positions.

THE REAL ISSUE IN THIS YEAR'S CAMPAIGN

For the politicians of the old parties there are no issues this year. Nowhere have their candidates submitted to the citizens a single new idea, one sole proposition for improving the situation within the country. Problems and evils do not exist for them.

The question of war and peace is for them the sole issue. The Republicans bear a grudge against the President for his liberal-mindedness in foreign politics, for his desire to be just and fair even to the enemies. And the enemies of organized labor side with the Republicans and express hostility to the President for having adopted a friendly labor policy, for having proclaimed the right of the workers to organize, to bargain collectively with employers and to be dealt with like human beings and not like semi-slaves.

The Democrats, on the other hand, reproach the Republican politicians with being unpatriotic enough to criticize the President and hinder him in his war-and-peace policy. This is the sole issue in the present campaign for the politicians of the old parties. As to the welfare of the people in the near future—they have not a word to say.

Thinking, progressive citizens among the organized workers look beyond these petty, threadbare politics. So far as war and peace are concerned they are behind the Government. We doubt whether one progressive union man or woman failed to buy Liberty Bonds in order to uphold the Government in its fight for liberty and democracy in all countries. For them this is a fact and not an issue. But the war may soon be ended and peace will come. They therefore ask these pertinent questions: Shall we have peace with other countries and industrial war at home? Shall we have a better America to live in than we had before the war? This is the real issue!

The enemies of the people and of organized labor grind their teeth in wrath at the slight measure of freedom and right accorded the workers in war industries, and they scheme openly to take back with profit all that they are

now compelled to concede to labor. Here is for the workers one of the most burning issues in the present campaign.

If we shall not do all in our power to elect a few of our people to Congress, our enemies will bring back upon us all the evils from which we were suffering before the war and will render the condition of the workers worse than ever. If we shall not elect in New York, at least the six Socialist Congressional candidates—Meyer London, Morris Hillquit, Scott Nearing, Algernon Lee, Ab. Shiplacoff and Joseph Whitehorn, and most of the Socialist candidates to the Assembly, we shall have no one in these legislative chambers to voice our protests against the plundering schemes of the politicians of the old parties. These politicians avowedly aim after the war to hand over our America to the profiteers, the trusts and money-bags. We say "our America," because it is the workers' land. America has attained its high position and world-power owing to the industrious, painstaking labor of the millions of toilers who have come here from all parts of the world, and the workers must strive to come into possession of governmental powers.

Thus the issues are those of reconstruction—reducing chaos and confusion to order—and establishing democracy in industry, so that the workers should have a voice in disposing of their labor and a right to determine their labor conditions; that they should be free from despotic domination in the shops and factories, as well as in politics; that they should be provided against unemployment, insured against sickness and assured of a decent livelihood in conformity with their deserts as the most loyal servants and sustainers of the land.

This is the issue for all thoughtful, progressive trade union men and women in the present campaign, and such radical improvements are advocated by the Socialist party and all its candidates.

The Congressional program of the Socialist party (printed in the Jewish edition) lays down clearly the international and national issues as to reconstruction after the war. It is a wonderful document—the only plan for the near future that American organized labor should stand for. The six Congressional candidates named above and the Socialist candidates for the New York and other State legislatures are pledged to this program of redemption. By assisting the Socialist campaign and electing these candidates, we shall bring nearer our final redemption from the untold evils from which, as workers, we suffer in the present industrial disorder.

MEANING OF LIBERTY

Liberty has never meant that men
 Could do as they pleased without restraint;
 Never in history has it been
 A creed of license, unbridled, free
 To hardened sinner and pallid saint;
 Liberty simply means that we
 (Tom and Dick and Harry and me,
 Ella, Mary and Marjorie)
 Shall have a decent and equal chance
 To love and labor, progress and advance,
 So long as we do not interfere
 With the rights of others to do the same;
 Liberty means that the field is clear
 For a fair-fought fight and an honest game.

—BERTON BRALEY.

The Co-Operative Movement—the Way to Social Justice

By JAMES PETER WARBASSE

President of The Co-operation League of America

Modern industrial life tends to create human hostilities. Co-operation is opposed to this. The co-operative movement aims to set people working together for their common good. It is based upon the natural human impulse of mutual aid which is the most salutary force in society. Its purpose is to substitute co-operation for antagonism. This it proceeds to do through a democratic movement which invites all the people of the world to join it, and to unite in administering their own affairs. It is making people their own storekeepers, wholesalers, manufacturers, bankers, insurance companies, mine owners, and administrators of their civic affairs. It is the movement which solves the problem of the high cost of living. All this it does. If it is an utopian dream, it is a dream come true, for it is an accomplished fact. Its merit is that it is practical. Its philosophy is natural.

In looking over the whole field of human interests we find one thing which is coming to all beings. They differ in religion, occupation, productivity, and habits of life, but all are consumers. All things of use should have for their ultimate destiny to be consumed, to go into the elements of society—to nourish, sustain, develop, beautify. Food, housing, clothing, music, art, recreations, and learning are the great fundamental needs.

The important requisites for co-operation are loyalty, and friendship toward one's fellow men. A group of people who are capable of fidelity organize as a consumers' society to supply for themselves their simplest wants. They buy at wholesale in common such things as eggs, butter, fruit, vegetables, coal, meat and coffee. They take for themselves the profit which had previously gone to the private

merchant. Their society grows larger, and presently they run their own store, and distribute to themselves all of their foodstuffs, clothing, and household goods. This is the simple and unostentatious beginning of an organization of infinite possibilities. The basis of such an organization must be democratic; otherwise it fails. The necessary share capital must be raised, preferable by the one-member-one-share principle. The essentials for success are: (1) One member one vote; (2) interest not above the current or legal rate; and (3) returns to members based on the amount of purchases which each member makes.

In the course of time, after a number of such societies have developed, they will find that the total amount of purchases they are making is so great that they can unite in the organization of a wholesale society, and thus take the next step and cut out the profit of the wholesaler. When still more societies have grown up and the membership has become sufficiently great, the wholesale society, instead of buying from the importer and manufacturer, imports and manufactures for itself. When this last step has been taken the economic problem is solved; the gamut is run; people are then producing and distributing for themselves; and are no longer at the mercy of competitive business.

Still securing commodities at the cost of production is the least of the purposes of the co-operative movement. It aims at more important things. It takes advantage of the organization of people who have common needs, and introduces insurance against sickness, death, unemployment, accidents, and old age. It provides pensions for motherhood, makes loans to members, carries families on credit in the event of sickness or unemploy-

ment, organizes banking, provides housing, recreations, clubhouses, medical and nursing care, hospitals and sanitariums. And beyond this there is still a greater benefit which accrues to the cooperator. It is not alone that the things he needs are made more easily accessible to him; that he is freed from the dangers and costs of diseased and adulterated food; that he is spared exploitation by the agencies of profiteering; that pensions, insurance and housing are made possible for him; that recreations, art and education are rendered accessible. Cooperation does a greater thing than all these. It awakens in the soul of man a new spirit. It makes him a cooperator. It takes hold of the fundamental and primitive instincts—to help one's fellow man, to be kind, to be generous, to render mutual aid—and encourages them. It organizes a society in which people learn by practice that the concern of one is the concern of all, and that no man can cheat or be cheated without his neighbor also suffering.

What has cooperation done? In England in 1844 twenty-eight poor weavers with no better destiny than the poor-house before them, organized the Rochdale Equitable Pioneers Society, with a store with only four commodities, keeping open only in the evening. They had the vision and the philosophy. From that small beginning there has never been a recession now for three-quarters of a century. Year after year unflinching success has crowned the movement. To-day the cooperative movement in Great Britain embraces one-third of the total population. For forty years the movement has been growing five times faster than the population has increased. During the war the increase has been ten times faster.

At the present time, cooperative societies of Great Britain distribute \$1,000,000,000 worth of commodities to their members annually. The "profit" or, more properly speaking, the savings to their members amount to \$100,000,000 a year. Of this amount \$65,000,000 is returned in cash to the mem-

bers in the form of "dividends." The British Wholesale Society supplies 1,200 societies. It owns its own steamships. It has fourteen great warehouses. It gives lavishly of its great resources toward welfare work. It is the largest purchaser of Canadian wheat in the world. Its eight flour mills are the largest in Great Britain. These mills produce thirty-five tons of flour every hour for the people who own the mills. The cooperators of Glasgow own the largest bakery in the world. The British Cooperative Wholesale owns sixty-five factories. Their soap works make 500 tons of soap a week. They produce 5,000,000 pairs of boots annually. They conduct three great printing plants. Their 24,000 acres of farms in England produce vast quantities of dairy products, fruit and vegetables. They have recently purchased 10,000 acres of the best wheat lands in Canada. They own their own coal-mines. Their last purchase was the Shilbottle coal mine, bought only during the past year. They own 2,300 acres of tea plantations in Ceylon and vineyards in Spain. In Africa they control vast tracts of land for the production of olives from which oil for their soap factories is procured.

These organizations of consumers—springing from the little society of Rochdale—now bring their own currants from Greece to be made into plum puddings in their own factories. The British Co-operators now produce almost every commodity. Watches, furniture, tinware, machinery, clothing, tobacco, chemicals, leather goods, corsets and brushes are among their products. Their total output is five times greater than that of the private manufacturers in the manufacturers' association. Their welfare-work embraces almost every branch of human service. They conduct life-saving stations on the coast, and administer large funds for the relief of sufferers from famine and unemployment. Their banking department is next to the Bank of England in importance. One half of the industrial life and accident insurance business in Great Britain is done

by the Co-operative Society, and at one tenth of the cost which the profit-making companies pay.

The British Wholesale Society did a business of \$217,000,000 in 1914; in 1917 it was \$300,000,000. The Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society is a federation of 264 consumers' societies. In 1916 it did a business of \$75,000,000, manufactured \$24,000,000 worth of goods and carried a reserve and insurance fund of nearly \$5,000,000. The British Society employs about 200,000 people. This vast business is carried on for the 15,000,000 people who are producing and distributing for themselves.

The continental movement is still greater. Germany, France and Italy have more societies and membership than England, Scotland and Ireland. Russia, before the war, was weak in co-operative societies. But with the growth of the revolutionary movement the societies increased until the Russian movement now has become the greatest in the world. There are in Russia 50,000 co-operative societies, with 15,000,000 members. Upon the basis of the head of a household representing five people, this means 75,000,000, which is nearly one half of the population. The People's Co-operative Bank in Moscow does a business of \$1,000,000,000 yearly.

The Belgian Co-operative Movement is peculiar. The surplus savings are not returnable to the members in the form of cash but are employed for social welfare purposes. These funds are used for doing for the members of the co-operative societies what the socialized state does for the people in Germany. Old age pensions, life insurance, insurance against sickness and unemployment, maternity benefits, and medical and nursing care are provided. Those beautiful buildings in Belgium, "the houses of the people," are owned by the co-operative societies. They are community centers, used for meetings, dramatic presentations, forums, schools and recreations. This movement of the people has been doing in a voluntary society what the political state in Germany has been doing. In the first in-

stance the people control their affairs; in the second instance the state controls.

All of the countries of Europe except Turkey have progressive co-operative movements. In Denmark, more than three-fourths of the population are embraced in co-operative societies. This little country is rapidly becoming a nation of co-operators and is already developing a superior culture.

During the war the co-operative movement has saved the people of the suffering countries from being quite at the mercy of the profiteers. At the beginning of the war when private tradesmen in England had put up the price of sugar to twelve cents a pound the co-operative societies continued to sell it to their members at five cents a pound, and people stood in lines waiting to join these societies. The countries which had a co-operative movement and in which the profiteers did not dominate, appointed the co-operators to administer food control. This was done in Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland. Russia did it immediately after the revolution. France, Germany and Austria have more recently done it. The French Government has this year gone so far as to promote the organization of co-operative societies among the soldiers. These societies run their motor vans among the camps and supply the soldiers with the things which formerly private tradesmen had made profits of from 20 to 200 per cent. in supplying.

In America we have a rapidly developing movement. While there are all kinds of spurious co-operative organizations, there are fully 1,000 true co-operative distributive societies. There are splendid groups of societies in the North West and throughout the northern states. Another group has developed about the United Mine Workers in the Central States. In Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio are some of the oldest and most successful societies. Throughout the rest of the country are scattered organizations. The Southern States and Eastern States are poorest in co-operation.

Aside from these distributive socie-

ties in the United States, there are five co-operative wholesale organizations, one of which has gone into manufacturing. This wholesale organization at Seattle, Washington, has organized a grist mill and two milk condenseries. It also conducts a successful laundry.

A co-operative society is started by a group of people, preferably belonging to organized labor, each making a contribution toward the share capital. Shares usually are placed at a valuation of from \$5.00 to \$25.00. Some societies charge less, some more. Commodities are bought at wholesale and sold at the prevailing retail market price. Out of the surplus savings which accumulate, a certain percentage is used to pay interest on capital, a certain amount is set aside as a reserve fund, part is appropriated for education and propaganda, and the balance is either used for general welfare purposes or is paid back to the members as a savings-return. In Great Britain for the average family this saving usually suffices

to pay the rent. This means that by belonging to the co-operative society the society gives house rent free. Most societies require that only a small deposit be paid down to join. In England it is twenty-five cents. The savings returns, or "dividends" as they are called, are then applied to the payment for the share until it is fully paid for.

The savings system is usually declared quarterly. The more the family buys at the store the more money it gets back at the end of the quarter. The store should not sell on credit. The society should maintain active committees on management, and on education and recreations. No society should start without first getting advice and instructions from some other successful society of some central organization. This is the function of the Co-operative League of America.

People who are capable of solidarity should seize upon this great growing movement and make it an instrument for their economic redemption.

The Work of the Socialist Assemblymen

By A. I. SHIPLACOFF

(Assemblyman Since 1916 and Now Candidate for Congress
in the Tenth District)

The State of New York has an area of 49,000 square miles. It is blessed with mountains and valleys, rivers and lakes, rich soil and forest lands, a broken seacoast and the many other facilities which make it one of the most favorable spots in all the world.

In addition to its natural advantages, this State contains a population of eleven millions of industrious people able and willing to do their share to make it a truly enviable place for human beings to live in comfort and happiness.

Unfortunately, the administration of the affairs of this State has for many years been in the hands of two sets of politicians, who lack both the will and the ability to run the State in the interests of the great masses of the people.

Whether the majority in Albany is

Republican or Democratic makes no real difference. The distinction is only in the names of these parties. Regardless of which of the two old parties is in power, the administrations are characterized by political barter and bargaining. Not only are millions of dollars of the people's money criminally wasted, but at each session laws are passed detrimental to the welfare and the very lives of the citizens of this State.

For three years, the Socialist party has been represented in the Assembly. Its representatives have fought persistently and consistently for the working people. Numerous attempts have naturally been made by members of the old corrupt parties, with the aid of the reactionary capitalist press, to discredit the work of the Socialist Assemblymen; but those who honestly

and impartially observed their work admit that no group of legislators in all the history of the State rendered such loyal and useful service to the people.

This fact has been substantiated by the Citizens' Union, by that section of the press which is not owned body and soul by the vested interests and by representatives of labor organizations and civic bodies who have been watching the work in the Legislature.

The Socialists introduced about 70 bills in the last session of the Legislature which, if enacted into law, would do away with many of the fundamental evils from which the people suffer.

The Socialist program included scientific legislation for the solution of the problem of the cost of living. The Socialists proposed to make the State the producer and distributor of food and other necessities to be sold to the people at cost. They proposed a comprehensive plan of municipal ownership under which there could have been initiated a system of public service for the people in contradistinction to the high-handed anarchy which now reigns in public service utilities which serve to enrich plundering corporations at the expense of the people. The Socialists proposed the establishment of a system of free higher education which would make possible for the children of the workers that culture which is now accessible to the privileged few. The Socialists proposed labor laws to safeguard the life and health of the workers in the shops and factories; to protect the women and children of the State from undue exploitation, and to secure for the workers generally the right to strike, free from the molestation of hired professional thugs.

The Socialist program contained bills for the repeal of the constabulary law, the compulsory military training and State conscription laws foisted on the people of the State by Welsch, Slater and others with Prussian psychologies. The Socialists demanded the initiative, referendum and recall, so that important questions might be decided by the people themselves rather than by the servants of the money-bags. They

fought for the regulation of the hours of labor of women on city railways, and of workers in the baking industry. The Socialist program outlined a system of social insurance and old age pensions to eliminate the suffering of the aged, and to safeguard the families of breadwinners incapacitated by sickness.

It contained a bill for the abolition of the unsavory methods of the State's printing now done by the Republican Boss Barnes and the J. B. Lyon Company. Under this arrangement this combination not only milks the treasury of the State directly, but secures the printing of a lot of worthless material which further exhausts the treasury. The Socialists proposed the establishment of a printing plant to be owned by the State in which would be printed not only all public papers, but the text books to be used in the public educational institutions.

The Socialists proposed legislation for the conservation and public utilization of the water power of the State so that light, heat and power might be generated and supplied to the people at cost. There was also a bill for the establishment of a milk commission to supply milk to the people at cost, eliminating the waste, duplication and overcharging now rife in this important enterprise.

These and other measures of the same kind were not enacted into law because the Republicans and Democrats voted against them.

The work of the Socialists did not end with the introduction of these bills. Scores of bills were introduced by the faithful servants of the manufacturers, real estate sharks, public utilities corporations and the gamblers in foodstuffs. In their fight on these measures, the Socialists found themselves daily defending the rights of labor and the people generally against the attacks of the enemies of the public weal.

Completely disregarding the cry that came from the masses for relief from the unbearably high cost of living, the old party legislators passed a law permitting the private owners of the grain

storehouses and elevators to increase rates, thus enabling them to amass still greater fortunes for themselves at the expense of the people of the State who must eat bread to live.

These same old party legislators raised the salaries of judges, district attorneys and other high officials from \$10,000 to \$12,000 and from \$15,000 to \$17,500 a year while the men and women engaged in useful work in the different departments of the State were retained at a rate of \$1,000, \$800 and \$600 a year. For the charwomen who scrub the floors of the public buildings at night and who are usually the bread-winners for their children, the Republican and Democratic legislators voted the munificent sum of \$420 a year.

We ask you now seriously to consider whom to vote for before you go

to the polls on Tuesday, November 5th.

Will you vote as in the past as a matter of habit? Will you permit the politician to persuade you to vote for the so-called "good" man? Or are you going to vote like an intelligent citizen for the candidates of a party with a definite program and principles, for a party that was founded and is being maintained by working men and women for the interests of the great masses of the people?

If you do as you did in the past you will have just what you have been getting in the past. If you vote the Socialist ticket, you will vote for yourself, and not for pegs in the wheels of the old party machines which grind always in the interests of the profiteering crew which rides upon the backs of the people.

How the British Labor Movement Came to Its Present Position

**Psychological Differences Between the German and British Workers—
Government Won British Workers Over by Conciliatory Methods—
The Agitation, Extensive Strikes and Educational Work of the
Years Preceding the War—Effect of Syndicalism and
Industrialism—The Shop Stewards Movement and
the Striving Toward a Larger Control in Industry**

By A. ROSEBURY

On a previous occasion I pointed out the fact that while the German and Austrian trade unions, owing to the war, have lost hundreds of thousands of members and much power and influence, the British trade unions have increased their membership and strengthened their power and influence.

True, the German trade unions have grown weaker for the reason that their organized ranks have furnished hundreds of thousands of men for the German army. But the British trade unions have fared no better. Their members, too, have been sent to the battlefields in hundreds of thousands. Yet the British trade unions have grown and risen upwards in spite of the war,

while the German trade unions have lost strength and the spirit of independence.

One reason for this is that the German trade unions gave themselves over, body and soul, to the militarist clique, whereas the British trade unions, while supporting the war, have remained as proud and firm fighters of labor as ever. The difference is one of national character and national psychology. Ever since the Franco-German war the German people have been devoted to the Kaiser. The masses are strong adherents of government and military discipline. The militarist spirit is felt everywhere—among all sorts and conditions of people, in society, in the schools and universities. Every young

man must for a certain time serve in the army and go through a military discipline.

In great Britain a free atmosphere has always prevailed. To go to jail for lese majeste is an ordinary occurrence in Germany. In England, however, free criticism has always been directed against the King, provided it was not abuse, and the government could always be publicly denounced and pilloried, whenever it provoked popular wrath.

In the first period of the war the British trade unions evinced such an independent spirit as to compel the government to use tact and moderation. Cabinet ministers attended their gatherings and conventions and sought by conciliatory means, by discussion and argument, to win the workers' support to the war. True, the trade unions have made considerable sacrifices for the war; but of their own accord and without force.

But another cause was at play in the blossoming forth of the British labor movement. It was due to a great national agitation, to convulsive strikes, and to systematic educational efforts—a ferment which began long before the war, as we shall presently see.

It would be idle to pretend that the British trade unions have retained their historic liberties in war time. Their economic action is so restricted that strikes which used to be called by trade union officials have become rare. The war has given rise to certain enactments limiting their freedom of action at every step. It is common knowledge that they surrendered many rules and regulations as to hours of labor, overtime, apprenticeship, and so forth, which have developed in the course of decades. They sacrificed these voluntarily to enable the workers to produce ammunition and war materials unchecked. Thus to-day they are not so free to conduct the economic struggle as prior to the war.

Great Things After the War.

But they have gained power and influence in another way. Before the war they counted over 2,000,000 mem-

bers. To-day they count over 4,000,000. Large numbers of unskilled workers have joined the organized ranks. In many trades they have grown so powerful that they can practically carry out every wish, although they do this only when compelled by urgent necessity. And the consciousness that they have acquired considerable influence and that they are in a fair way to increase their power still more has brought forth a new spirit. It is this which has imparted a lofty tone to the British Labor party. After the war great things may be expected in England.

Some people are somewhat pessimistic about the near future. The period of demobilization, involving the discharge of 5,000,000 soldiers now on the battlefields and between three to four million industrial soldiers employed by the government in munition factories and similar industries—will cause confusion. The transformation of war industries into peace industries will not be so quickly effected, and many plants will be entirely shut down. That will be a difficult time for the labor movement in every country. The future is hidden and no one knows what the coming times will bring forth.

Intelligent British workers do not conceive the outlook as being so black. They believe, on the contrary, that inasmuch as the enlightened spirit, now conspicuous in the British trade unions, has not come about suddenly, but has been a gradual development—this in itself is a guaranty that the unions and their leaders will know how to avail themselves of every favorable opportunity. The events of the last twelve months show clearly that they will not permit circumstances to overpower them, but that they will master the circumstances and surmount every difficulty.

New Spirit Set In in 1910.

In some American circles a belief is current that the new spirit and lofty tone is due entirely to the war. One notes the frequent reference to the backwardness of the British labor movement in the pre-war period. That

is by no means correct. The great strike movement which set in early in 1910 and spread like wild-fire all over the country—even then the British trade unions assumed a determined attitude which was contemplated by the governing classes with fear and trembling. From 1910 to 1914 their tone grew ever firmer. In the first year of the war uncertainty prevailed, as in every unexpected crisis. Subsequently the clouds cleared away. The radical ideas which had spread in those years by the Syndicalist and Industrialist agitation had struck root. During the war these ideas strengthened their hold on the minds.

In the pre-war period the forty members of the Labor party in Parliament could not achieve much on the political field. As I already indicated in my previous article, they were forty against 630. The 630 members, representing mostly the owning classes, could not be expected to support the projects of the working class, since the working class frankly avows its aim to acquire political power and dispossess the proprietary classes. Thus Labor temporarily shifted its ground to waging great economic struggles. It was then that Syndicalism and Tom Mann's agitation produced large effects.

It is curious, however, that French Syndicalism did not turn the British workers into Syndicalists, nor did American Industrialism turn them into industrialists. The advanced ideas assumed a different direction. Thinkers and writers gave these ideas a new name: "Guild Socialism." *

What Is Guild Socialism?

Guild Socialism embodies two principles; one borrowed from Industrialism and the other from Social Democracy. The Industrialist principle is to the effect that the workers must aim at direct control of the industry in which they are engaged, and that the State shall be abolished, as the State, being a capitalist institution, is the

guardian of private property. Under a system of collective property the State would no longer be needed. In this respect the Industrialists lean toward Anarchism. The Social Democrats, on the other hand, think that the State in a Socialist society would be the guardian of the interests of society as a whole, conducting national industries in the workers' interests.

Now come the Guild Socialists and extract the honey from Industrialism. "The workers must aim at direct control of the industry in which they are engaged"—yes, very good. Indeed, let the workers proceed to the conquest of economic power, which will bring with it political power. But the industries cannot belong to groups of workers separately, as such a system would create separate interests in society; and a situation might be created where the miners would clash with the engineers, the engineers with the builders, the builders with the metal workers and the agricultural workers with all the others. A capitalist State is a curse, but a truly democratic State will be a blessing. Therefore we must democratize the State and render it truly representative of all the people, which in future will be a laboring people. As such the State will own all the means of production and all natural resources. At the same time the workers will control the industry in which they are engaged, while the State will take care of such social questions as education, insurance, sundry improvements, house building and town planning, foreign commerce and exchange and the public weal.

Want a Direct Voice in the Management

These ideas were widely discussed in the British labor movement long prior to the war. But the practical Britisher was strongly impressed with one practical idea capable of realization right now. He is not so much concerned about the future as about an improvement which he can insist on and win immediately. Whether the State should remain or be eliminated is a subsequent matter. For the present

*In 1916 a series of articles was run in the Yiddish pages of the *Ladies' Garment Worker* on Guild Socialism and the interesting movement of that time.—Editor.

he can demand a direct voice in the management of the industry in which he is engaged.

Precisely such a movement has been developed among the masses of the great trade unions, while the younger spirits keep in view the final aim—the complete abolition of the capitalist order. The latter are the idealists, perhaps not so numerous, but their influence is very great.

The war has strengthened these convictions. First, the government felt compelled to take over the largest industries. This gave the Guild Socialists an opportunity for which they might have had to wait for years; and the government had to conclude an agreement with the trade unions, in disregard of the opinion of the so-called owners of the industries. Naturally the workers had to compromise and surrender many hard-won privileges, but in return they began to feel themselves powerful to demand a controlling voice in the management of the industries concerned.

Secondly, the Socialist tone became accentuated owing to the action of the profiteers. In the first period of the war the profiteers everywhere bent all efforts to coin money from war necessities. There arose a situation of high-priced necessities and miserable wages which caused much suffering among the workers. Thus, instead of the martial spirit weakening the agitation, the movement for consolidating the forces to restrain the appetite of the profiteers received a great stimulus. The best proof of this, if proof were needed, is the consolidation of the three great unions—the Miners' Federation, the National Union of Railway Workers and the Transport Workers' Union, comprising an aggregate membership of some 2,000,000 workers—which was effected during the war. This and similar consolidation of trade union forces made it possible for the idea of direct control in industrial management becoming a realizable demand, and the workers are presenting this demand wherever industrial conditions are in their favor.

The Shop Stewards Movement.

Interesting is, what is called there, the "shop stewards movement." In the engineering, boot and shoe and textile industries the workers seek to control trade and labor conditions through their shop stewards. These shop representatives seem to have broader functions than our shop chairmen. There the movement arose among the masses, and as yet the power of these stewards has not been recognized in some of the largest unions. The shop stewards have, or desire to have, a say in all shop affairs, even where this is not permitted by trade union rules, and in some cases the action of the shop stewards runs counter to the wish of high union officials. Some of these officials do not quite perceive or, possibly, are unwilling to perceive the significance of the new movement, which seems to be a genuine popular movement emanating from the shops and the factories.

For the workers the aim of this movement is quite clear. They aim at securing an increased control in industrial affairs. They are so well organized that they realize their power and their value as workers. They realize that they have a right to play a greater part in industry than was permitted them heretofore. They believe that thereby they are beginning to wrest industrial control from capitalist hands, and, in State industries, from the hands of capitalist managers. Advanced people recognize the shop stewards movement as a revolutionary force in the trade unions.

Going Slow to Surer Results

The practical British workers do not favor violent revolutions and social convulsions. They prefer to go slow, step by step, making ever larger breaches in the capitalist fortifications rather than muddle things up in the way the Bolsheviki have done in Russia.

When the Syndicalists and Industrialists carried their agitation all over Great Britain they little imagined how quickly some of their practical ideas

would germinate and bring fruit. No one then imagined the imminence of a world war that was destined to bring the largest industries under State control. Industrialism benefited the British workers in consolidating their ranks. Syndicalism added fire to the agitation, instilling into the minds of the workers the idea that they ought to become the collective owners of the industries and can achieve it by organization and energetic exercise of will. And the phlegmatic English

worker picked out just the ideas suited to his peculiar circumstances, extracted their right values, and Guild Socialism emerged from the process.

The shop stewards movement is striving after a larger control of industrial management. The Labor party in Parliament is seeking to embrace in its protective efforts all the dissatisfied elements of present society and secure control of the entire State. These are the two main aims of Guild Socialism.

The Workers' University of Our International Union

By AB. BAROFF

Education has become the cry of all progressive trade unions. Our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was one of the first to recognize the importance of education. At our recent International convention in Boston it was brought home to us that the necessity for teaching and enlightening our members is not a mere phrase, but an earnest wish on the part of the leaders of the International Union to bring it into reality. With that aim in view it was decided to provide the sum of \$10,000 annually for educational purposes.

We have always proclaimed aloud that education is not only a necessary part of trade union activity, but that it is essential to its very existence.

Education and organization must go hand in hand. The labor movement, and especially the trade union movement, requires mostly, not general education, but a particular kind of education adapted to the needs of the labor movement, an education with the aim of enriching the intelligence of our people to enable them to fortify their organization and render it secure.

The trade unionist is not only a soldier of a fighting army in a special industry. He is likewise a member of society; and therefore it is absolutely necessary that his conception of his aims in life and of the relations be-

tween him and society should be broadened to include the entire social organism, and that his view should not be limited to the daily struggles in the industry in which he is employed.

To-day, more than ever, it has become a vital necessity that the worker should be well informed and educated. We are witnessing the advent of new times, in which the worker is destined to play a great role. Big, epoch-making events are expected in the near future. Whole industries will be reconstructed and the associated life of humanity will assume a new and different character. The workers must take an active and prominent part in all such reforms. Therefore it is all the more necessary that they should acquire intellectual power in order to take their important place in the body politic.

To carry out our intense wishes we cannot rely on the general education taught in the various schools, because this is not accessible to our members. They neither have the time nor the means to acquire a classical, systematic education. The best and shortest road through which we can achieve our aim is by a specific education imparted to them in such time and in such form as should prove of service to them. What seems most important is to teach the worker economy in con-

nection with his industry; to render him familiar with the activities of other labor organizations, and with the relation all industries have to one another and to the working class in general.

It is important to instruct the worker as to the causes of the evils arising in the industry in which he is employed, and to enlighten him as to the way in which to solve industrial problems.

It is essential that the worker should become familiar with the history of the trade union movement, its forms and aspects.

It is necessary that the worker should have a better understanding of the aims of his organization and should realize precisely what changes he can bring about in his life through the power of the trade union.

The workers should be enlightened as to the importance of the cooperative movement, its relation to their union and the great advantages they might gain from promoting this enterprise through the union.

In short, a class-conscious, enlightened worker will never betray his organization. He will be able to find an answer to questionings agitating his mind. He will understand how to explain and guard against the besetting evils and dangers which cause him suffering. He will no longer charge his organization with neglecting his interests. He will be a more loyal member and apply his intelligence to the effort of strengthening his union and secure for himself and his fellow workers a better existence.

A special educational committee was appointed by the General Executive Board of our International Union to carry on this work, and a plan has now been drawn up which will meet our requirements.

We confess that hitherto our efforts to interest our members in acquiring knowledge and information has not been as successful as we had a right to expect. So far our members have not

shown that they recognize the necessity of knowledge. With all our endeavors last year to render our Workers' University popular among the rank and file, only a small number of members availed themselves of the opportunity to enroll as students of the school.

Upon due consideration it sometimes seems that we have no right to blame the worker for failing to appreciate the importance of education. The fact that the poorest quarter of New York sends forth a larger number of educated, intelligent children than other places shows that poor workers recognize and appreciate the value of education; therefore they often make great sacrifices to give their children a better education than they had themselves, to render them less helpless in the future. Thus their action in that case and in our own case is a surprising contradiction. If they recognize that their children ought to be provided with a good education, why then should they fail to utilize the opportunity afforded them by the union to enrich their minds with useful knowledge?

True, cares and anxieties and tiring work exhaust the worker physically. One has to make an almost superhuman effort to attend school in the evening after the day's work. But the importance of acquiring knowledge should be sufficient to induce a strong effort on his part.

The season of the classes and lectures has already begun. Our members should not miss the opportunity afforded them by the International Union. They must register for the classes immediately and drink from the fountain of knowledge thus provided for them. Education will enrich their thought. It will make them better and more intelligent workers and enable them to place their organization on a secure basis, assuring the maintenance of improved labor conditions in the shops and a healthier life for themselves and their families.

The American Labor Movement in the Present Crisis

By A. R.

CAPITAL AND LABOR AFTER THE WAR

From various parts of the country indications are at hand that the greatest social storm which will rage after the war will be that between capital and labor. Capitalists are already grinding their teeth and organized employers are beginning to speak their mind against the Government.

The slight reforms that the Government has introduced for the protection of labor in the war industries; namely, (1) higher wages to conform to the cost of living; (2) doing away with individual agreements; (3) the right of the workers to organize and bargain collectively with employers, and (4) the recent gain of the eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime—these reforms have given the employers pause. In their heart they are beginning to realize that these reforms can never again be taken away from the workers. Some employers with a larger view into the future and a sensibility to the oncoming of the new social currents are quite alarmed at the prospect that after the war their domination over industry and probably also in politics must decline and finally altogether revert to the people. And the richer and more aggressive among them are attempting to turn back the wheels of progress. Here are a few indications:

The Eight-Hour Decision

Already in the previous issue we gave the reader details of the decision of Justice Clark, a judge of the State Supreme Court of North Carolina, in the case of the molders in Wheeling, West Virginia. The molders had demanded the eight-hour day and appealed to the National War Labor Board. The Board could not agree and referred the matter to Judge Clark, one of its umpires. In his findings for the workers Judge Clark spoke in such an indisputable tone of advanced humanitarian principles that the big captains of industry felt partly alarmed and partly indignant. It was not so much the decision as to the

eight-hour day or the extra payment for overtime, as the provision that no overtime shall be worked unless the shop committees of the workers will agree as to whether there is an emergency.

Frank P. Walsh and William H. Taft, joint chairmen of the Board, immediately announced that the rule of Justice Clark will now have to be established elsewhere. Thereupon, the steel magnates stole a march on the union organizers, who are working strenuously to organize the steel and iron employees, by introducing the eight-hour day and time and one-half for overtime; not owing to humanitarian motives, but for fear that their 300,000 employees will organize and demand to have a voice in the question whether or not an emergency for overtime exists. This would be a blow to the unchecked sway of the steel magnates.

Employers' Appeal Not Sustained

That the steel magnates were not wholehearted in their granting the eight-hour day can be seen from the fact that Walter Drew of the Erectors' Association, notorious for his hostility to organized labor, appealed to the War Labor Board against the decision of Judge Clark and for a re-hearing of the case.

Mr. Drew seems to have lost sight of the fact that the award by an umpire of the Board is final and there is no higher court of appeal. But in order to afford Attorney Drew no opportunity to claim that Judge Clark had committed a judicial error, the Board referred Drew's appeal to Justice Clark himself. Drew strongly protested against this, but ex-President Taft coolly replied that the Board had no right to re-open the case and that Judge Clark alone was competent to decide whether there should be a re-hearing.

Thus the appeal came to Judge Clark, who sustained his decision by even stronger arguments. Attorney Drew based his appeal on a technical point; namely, that the agreement between the molders and their employees had not been formally adopted

by both parties. In reply to this, Judge Clark emphasized the fact that the employers had been ready to accept the agreement on certain conditions favorable to themselves—that the question of overtime should be left to their discretion, and, therefore, he rejected the appeal.

GOVERNMENT CONFERENCE AS TO THE NEEDLE TRADES

Representative manufacturers in the needle trades have similarly manifested the inner psychology of our own employers. If Attorney Gordon really speaks the mind of his clients, the garment manufacturers, then it is clear that the war and all its lessons for the world have left them in the position of the Bourbons in the time before the French revolution, who had learned nothing and forgotten nothing. The recent conference has a special interest for our people. Here are some details:

The War Labor Policies Board, of which Dr. Felix Frankfurter is chairman, recently called representatives employers of the needle trades to a conference in Washington, and some twenty-five representatives were present. At the conference Mr. Gordon of New York, attorney for several associations in the garment industries, came out strongly as special pleader for the employers' old and worn standpoint. There was also present at the conference Mr. Emery, the lawyer of the National Association of Manufacturers.

The conference had been called with the object of discussing the formation of a special organization for the needle trades with a view to standardization of conditions. It was suggested that the proposed organization should consist of representatives of the employers, of the unions and of the Government.

Our Government is interested in that part of the garment industry manufacturing for the war. As the army will soon be very considerably enlarged, the demand for military clothing will grow and increase. At present the Government has no systematic control over that part of the industry. If, however, there were a national organization along the lines of the Government plan, facilities would be afforded for introducing standards of efficiency and economy.

Manufacturers Not Satisfied

From the speeches of the attorneys and the questions put by certain representative employers it can be seen that the manufacturers are not satisfied because the plan implies control. They fear ORGANIZATION when it does not involve them alone but also involves labor, and they jump to conclusions, as for instance: Organization in matters of labor means a union, and a union means a closed shop; therefore they suspect that the Government seeks to unionize the entire needle industry and establish the closed shop.

Mr. Emery delivered a lengthy address in high-sounding phrases and masked insinuations. Mr. Gordon, on the other hand, insofar as he managed to make his meaning clear, dug up old contentions that had seen better days eight and ten years ago. One is reminded of the extinct United Cloak Manufacturers' Association, from which Mr. Gordon has evidently derived very much inspiration. The people of the "United" used to urge all sorts of objections against the protocol and the union leaders; and at the conference in Washington Mr. Gordon revived those musty objections. Will the new organization have to deal with the unions and the labor leaders? he asked. If so, it will be a closed shop! The protocol and the collective agreements are already sufficient checks upon the employers, and is there to be more organization and larger control?

Mr. Gordon's questionings and repetitions called forth from Dr. Frankfurter the remark that "they do not show fools a half-built house." At another time Dr. Frankfurter dropped the hint that if the manufacturers will not willingly adopt some concerted action the Government will have to employ different methods.

The conference is to be continued in New York, and we hope to return to the subject

OPEN REVOLT OF EMPLOYERS' SPOKESMEN

Side by side with peace rumors one also hears the murmurs of the alarmed financial magnates. While the talk of reconstruction is in the air everywhere—reconstruction and reforms—the reactionaries protest against the Government's labor

policy and utter warnings against Socialism. Recently prominent men—Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, and Samuel Untermyer, a wealthy New York lawyer—attempted to forecast the future. They spoke of a social order, after the war, built on justice and useful service. That means—a departure from unrestricted license to exploit and enslave the laboring man. For the captains of industry and their partners, the money-bags, this is like the handwriting on the wall. As if to say: "Rule of capital, thy days are numbered." And the captains of industry and finance are girding their loins for a pitched battle.

In Bridgeport there are some 60,000 workers in munitions factories, and the War Labor Board has gained for them human conditions of labor and the principle of collective bargaining with their employers. The owners of the plants had to submit to the decisions of the Board and its referees; hence they are chagrined that they cannot operate the open shop unchecked and enforce their old arbitrary methods, and their spokesmen in the press came out in open revolt.

Advise the Election of Republican Congress

In their organ, "The Voter and His Employer," an editorial recently appeared agitating for open shop and advising the voters to elect a Republican Congress to thwart President Wilson and prevent him from carrying out urgent industrial reforms. The editorial refers in unmeasured terms to the taking over by the President of the plant of Smith & Wesson for disregarding the decision of the War Labor Board. "The manufacturers who are members of the Board," says this editorial in substance, "should have resigned immediately in consequence of the President's action, because the Labor Board is the creation of the American Federation of Labor and its foremost leader is a Federation man. If the Board should be permitted to proceed with its policy all plants will finally be unionized; the closed shop will prevail everywhere; employers will be unable to deal with individual workers. . . . Let employers and non-union people therefore elect a Republican Congress, and double the campaign funds of 1916. Let the Democratic majority in Congress be wiped out. This will tie the President's hands and set

aside the War Labor Board. The Republican Congress will then appoint a commission that will uphold the open shop and non-union labor."

It would be a bad day for the voter if he were to act on such stupid advice.

BANKER "ENLIGHTENS" MANUFACTURERS

A similar cry was raised at a meeting of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, held at Boston last month. A banker from Illinois addressed the meeting and his theme was "Back to First Principles," which in plain language means, back to free, unchecked competition and exploitation. He attacked the university professors—an overt attack on the present Government administration. The banker referred with bitter irony to the leaders in power introducing reforms, state Socialism and more democracy. The Government, said this reactionary, had been afraid to alienate and deal sternly with labor as it had dealt with capital and conscription; and the biggest issue was, he said, whether we should let the Government proceed on the road to state Socialism or we should free the individual from restrictions—in the sense, of course, of letting the strong in wealth and weak in conscience to overpower the poorer man and prey on the people.

Just the kind of thing we have to expect of the reactionaries after the war.

FAVOR THE WORKERS OF THE B. R. T.

The workers on the Brooklyn Rapid Transit won a decided victory. Their claims and contentions were entirely justified by the War Labor Board. Their complaints that the company had resorted to espionage and oppressed them in various ways were proven up to the hilt. The Board decided that twenty-nine workers, discharged for joining the union, should be reinstated and paid for loss of time. Joint Chairmen Frank P. Walsh and William H. Taft found that the company had violated the President's proclamation giving the

workers a right to organize, and ruled that this right must be accorded to them.

The workers and the union officials are satisfied with the decision and are encouraged to believe that their union will thereby be strengthened.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS CONFOUNDS THE PROPHETS

The so-called prophets who spread the alarming rumor that President Gompers had gone to England for the special purpose of causing a split in the British Labor Party must now regret that they did not practice the wise saying: "Don't prophesy unless you know."

President Gompers ignored those prophets. The purpose of his mission to Europe was to present to British and French workers President Wilson's war-and-peace programme, and in this he met with great success.

To reporters of various papers in England President Gompers explicitly stated that it was not his purpose to criticize the labor movement of Great Britain, and that the workers of England and other countries were competent to order their internal affairs.

President Gompers was born in London in 1850, in Fort Street, Spitalfields, which today is a crowded Jewish district inhabited by the poorer element. When he had left for America he was thirteen years old. While on his visit he specially went to see the house where he was born, and a Jewish woman several years his junior, who still lives in the house, said that she well remembered him. The news that Gompers was coming down to Spitalfields quickly spread among the inhabitants and large crowds collected in the streets and gave him a rousing welcome.

President Gompers is expected in America one of these days.

JEWISH WORKERS ACTIVE IN FOURTH LIBERTY LOAN

As soon as President Wilson made clear to the world the American standpoint in the present world-war the trade unions composed mostly of Jewish workers immediately got behind our Government in a

direct effort to help win the war for a freer and better world.

German barbarism contributed not a little to this factor, especially the cruelty of the heartless junker-military machine and its false, hypocritical tactics at the so-called peace parleys with revolutionary Russia. The miserable peace imposed on Russia by force made the blood of every sane revolutionist boil with indignation against Germany, and that moved the labor movement among the Jewish workers in America to render direct aid to the Government's win-the-war policy.

Jewish labor men were very active in the third Liberty Loan drive. Our International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union, the United Hebrew Trades and a number of other unions worked hard to make that loan a great success. But even more was done in the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign. Almost all the unions of Jewish workers, from the largest to the smallest, took part in the drive.

Some of the larger unions, our own Cloak, Skirt and Reefermakers' Union, the Furriers' Union, the Capmakers' Union and others worked together with the manufacturers' associations, and will get full credit together with the general Liberty Loan committee of their industry.

The smaller unions concentrated around the United Hebrew Trades. This body carried on an energetic campaign for the fourth, as for the third loan.

It was for this purpose that the United Hebrew Trades held a great meeting on Thursday, October 10, in the large hall of the Educational Alliance building, Jefferson Street and East Broadway. One of the chief speakers at this meeting was the well-known public man, Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee, who received a great ovation as soon as Brother Max Pine, the chairman, introduced him to the meeting.

Mr. Marshall delivered an exceptionally stirring address, showing that he understood the Jewish workers and how to approach them. We shall cite here a brief characteristic passage from what he said in effect.

"Oh!" he exclaimed, "how we long for a just world! We are now fighting for our-

selves as well as for other countries. We will destroy militarism. There must be an end to standing armies. The world is now bathing in a sea of blood, but its waves will be carried away and there will emerge a free, justice-loving world to which our hearts, in their most exalted moments yearn, of which our great prophets dreamed and to attain which our country is now involved in a mighty struggle."

Mr. Marshall concluded by exclaiming: "If we desire liberty for the world we must fight for it!"

The second chief speaker of the evening was one much beloved among the workers of the East Side, our Congressman Meyer London. London received an unusual reception and called forth the greatest enthusiasm. He spoke with heart and soul for the Liberty Loan, while his address was very powerful in a Socialist sense. He said in substance:

"The right-thinking and liberty-loving peoples of the world did not begin the war. They did not bring this misfortune on the

world. The darkest powers called it forth. But with the sea of blood and tears it has brought the world to a condition where kings and despots must get out of the way and let the peoples themselves decide their destinies in life. . . .

"A league of nations to protect the small, weak peoples is now being much discussed. We Socialists have preached the idea for the last thirty or forty years. It was unfortunate for the world that such a league was not in existence when the conflict among the peoples broke out.

"From the world agony and travail a new world is springing forth, a freer and juster world. The President of the United States has taken his stand upon this issue. As a Socialist, I wish that the whole world were solid and united for it."

Impressive was also the address of Brother Max Pine, the chairman of the meeting. On the whole the meeting had a profound effect in promoting the work of the Fourth Liberty Loan among the working people on the East Side.

Educational Plans of Our International Unions

By FANNIA M. COHN

Secretary of the Educational Committee

Pursuant to the decision of our recent Boston convention, the General Executive Board at its meeting in Philadelphia appointed an Educational Committee of five, namely, Vice-Presidents M. Sigman, H. Wander, A. Silver, S. Seidman and Fannia M. Cohn. Subsequently the Educational Committee appointed Miss Juliet S. Poyntz as educational director and myself as Secretary.

According to the educational plan for the coming season, unity centers will be opened in five public schools in various parts of Greater New York, including Public Schools 54, Bronx; No. 40 on Twentieth Street and Second Avenue, Manhattan, and No. 84, Glenmore and Stone Avenues, Brownsville. The downtown center will soon be announced.

Study of English and Hygiene.

In these centers there will be classes for teaching English to beginners as

well as advanced classes. The Board of Education is backing this part of the program and will not only furnish the teachers but give us the privilege of choosing such teachers as will understand the special needs of our people.

Aside from this there is to be a health evening; one hour of the evening devoted to gymnasium and physical exercise under the direction of an experienced teacher, and the second hour to a lecture on health by a doctor.

Then there are to be arranged in every center courses on economics, trade unionism, civics and literature.

The classes will be so arranged that students will be able to study English for one hour and attend one of the courses in the other hour.

Reading Circles and Social Gatherings.

During four days in the week studies will be pursued, while on Fridays the Unity Circle will meet for reading-un-

der direction of experienced readers, in which every member may take part, and for social intercourse, affording members an opportunity to form friendship.

Advanced courses will also be arranged for those of our members who have already had some mental training. These will be opened in Washington Irving High School, where our members may study social and economic questions and other studies. The teachers will be the best authorities on these subjects.

Lectures by Union Leaders.

It is the intention of our International Union that this education shall not be exclusively theoretical but also practical; that it shall touch the labor movement here and abroad, impart a knowledge of the history of American international unions of mark and standing, and familiarize our members with practical management of trade unions. With this end in view the committee will invite leaders of well-known international unions to lecture before the students of Washington Irving High School on practical affairs.

Entertainments

The aim of the Educational Committee is to reach the masses of our members. It is, however, not so easy to reach those who are married and lead domestic family lives by the ordinary channels of educational opportunity. One educational medium is the appreciation of art, which has an ennobling influence. Consequently, the committee has included in its program good popular concerts and instructive moving pictures for members and their families, which will be given in the large public school auditoriums where the Unity Centers will be located. It is planned that part of these musical programs shall be addresses on various topics by well-known men and women.

Local Cooperation

Naturally, all this work cannot be done by the Educational Committee alone, and we urge upon the locals to become interested co-workers and co-

operate with the committee's undertakings. We ask every member possessing energy and intelligence to help us in this work. There are many such members in our locals. In view of this we requested the local executive boards to appoint educational committees of three, who were invited to a conference.

This conference was held on Saturday, October 5th, and all our New York locals were represented. The local committees pledged themselves to cooperate with our educational department in carrying out our plans by calling the attention of their membership to our educational centers and secure their attendance at the classes and courses. The arrangement of the entertainments and musical programs is to be in charge of the local committees with the cooperation of our educational department.

Provision for Country Locals

For the present this educational plan will apply to New York, Philadelphia and Boston. We have not, however, left out of account our members in other cities. As some of our country locals are not large enough to put in operation a plan of this kind for themselves, and are rather far apart from each other to apply it in common just at present, we have decided to issue sundry educational pamphlets through which to reach them and arrange courses of lectures for them. As to this, we must yet communicate with the committees of the country locals.

Such are the plans of the General Educational Committee. To carry them out the local executive boards, the local committees and every active member must cooperate with us. If the membership will appreciate the educational opportunities now afforded by the International Union and will take individual interest in the work, our undertaking will meet with success.

It is specially important that every local manager, business agent and secretary should feel interested in the promotion of these educational plans, which aim at diffusing the light of knowledge among our members and strengthening our organization.

Central Executive Board (New York Members) in Session

A meeting of the New York members of the Board was held on October 4, 1918, to consider the following matters:

1. Request of Local No. 90, Custom Dressmakers, for endorsement of a general strike.

2. Question of transferring the finishers from the Children's Cloaks and Reefermakers' Union, Local 17, to the Cloak Finishers' Union, Local No. 9, in accordance with the decision of the Boston Convention.

3. The Sanitarium Assessment.

There were present: Vice-Presidents Elmer Rosenberg, J. Halperin, M. Sigman, S. Ninfo, S. Lefkowitz, S. Seidman, H. Wander, A. Sliver from Philadelphia and Secretary Baroff. President Schlesinger presided.

ORGANIZING THE CUSTOM DRESSMAKERS

Brother A. Ellner, appearing on behalf of Local No. 90, stated that a few weeks ago, in a conference of the local executive board with President Schlesinger an organizing campaign had been mapped out for preparing the women workers in the custom dressmaking industry for a general strike, and Vice-President Elmer Rosenberg had been assigned to manage and lead the campaign. In the meantime Brother Rosenberg was helping to settle the ladies' tailors' strike and was therefore unable to do much in the way of organizing the dressmakers' campaign.

Brother Ellner explained that several mass meetings in various parts of the city had been decided on to determine the sentiment of the workers. One such meeting was held on September 30th. He asked the General Executive Board to permit him to go on with arrangements for another mass meeting with the aid and under the supervision of Brother Rosenberg, and to endorse a general strike in the custom dressmaking industry. It was also necessary that the demands on the employers should be a forty-eight hour working week and an increase of 25 per cent. in wages. The union girls felt certain that these demands would be conceded by the employers, said Brother Ellner.

After due consideration and upon hearing the views of President Schlesinger and Vice-President Elmer Rosenberg, the Board decided that a general strike be called in the custom dressmaking industry, if the next mass meeting should prove a success. The details were left to the General Office and the New York Vice-Presidents were asked to attend the mass meeting to gauge the feeling of the rank and file. It was also decided that the letters to be sent to the manufacturers should contain the request for a forty-eight hour working week and a 25 per cent. increase of wages.

DECISION AS TO THE FINISHERS

From correspondence read by Secretary Baroff it appeared that so far, the Reefermakers' Union, Local No. 17, had failed to carry out the decision of the convention in the matter of transferring its finishers to the Cloak Finishers' Union, Local No. 9.

A committee from Local No. 17, consisting of Brothers Heller, Jacobinsky, Mann and Schwartz, appeared before the Board to explain the matter. Brother Heller stated that it was not a case of Local No. 17 refusing to carry out the decision but rather a case of delay, because the local had lost hundreds of members on account of the war and conditions in their industry at this moment were not favorable for transferring the finishers to Local No. 9. They were ready and willing to carry out the decision of the convention, but asked the General Executive Board to postpone the execution of the decision until more favorable conditions will prevail in their organization.

Brothers Jacobinsky and Mann, and Manager Weinstein of Local No. 17, bore out Brother Heller's statement and urged the General Executive Board to postpone the execution of the decision until a more opportune time.

After due discussion it was decided that Local No. 17 must carry out the decision of the convention and transfer all their finishers to Local No. 9 not later than December 1, 1918. Should Local No. 17 fail to carry out this order, the local will stand suspended from the International Union. Secretary Baroff was instructed to

notify Local No. 17 of this decision. It was also decided that Local No. 17 shall henceforth refrain from accepting finishers as members of the local.

Secretary Baroff was further instructed to at once call a conference of representatives of Local No. 9 and Local No. 17, at which he shall preside, where plans for transferring the finishers from Local No. 17 to Local No. 9 shall be worked out. Secretary Baroff was empowered to pass such decisions on the plans as he may find applicable to the situation.

THE SANITARIUM ASSESSMENT

With reference to the Sanitarium Assessment, Secretary Baroff stated that the International has begun to carry out the mandate of the convention in establishing

a building for a sanitarium for suffering members; that the ground for the sanitarium and some buildings had already been bought, and a charter obtained from the State Board of Health. He said, that this noble work could not progress on expressions of sympathy only, but that the members of the International Union must be called on to pay the assessment which will enable the Sanitarium Committee to go ahead with the work. He therefore asked the General Executive Board to authorize him to send out a call to the locals and all the members of our International to begin paying the Sanitarium Assessment in quarterly installments of 25 cents, beginning with October 1, 1918.

Secretary Baroff was given the requisite authority to issue such a call.

Cutters' Union, Local No. 10 Looking Ahead

Many interesting changes have taken place in the Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union Local 10, hence the writer is somewhat at a loss as to where to begin his report of the local activities. However, so many problems confront the cutters just now that it is advisable to confine this report to trade problems.

Unemployment Is Rampant

Unless proper steps are taken to meet any situation that may arise at the end of the war, the cutters will suffer the inevitable consequences of unemployment. It should be remarked that the problems facing the cutters now, or those that may face them after the war, will by no means be cutters' problems. The writer believes that an over-abundance of labor will affect not only the cutters but also the workers of other branches of the industry. Here, however, I speak only for the cutters.

So much is heard of prosperity just now, so many workers are said to be reaping riches in war industries, that it is really hard for a large portion of the country to believe that unemployment exists anywhere. Yet a visit to the union's lounging rooms would dispel any doubt. Unemployment among us is rampant. So far as the cutters are concerned, the world war makes no difference, such is the poor condition of employment in the ladies' garment cut-

ting trade. The question naturally arises: What will happen after the war? How shall we describe the situation in store for these men after the war, when many of their number will return from the fighting lines and look for jobs?

Present Machinery Causes Hardship

The agreement with the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association will expire at the end of this year. The pact in the cloak trade will expire some six or seven months from now. Aside from the necessity of an agreement that should meet unusual after-war problems, such demands must be put forth as will also meet the needs of the workers in normal times. The present machinery used in the adjustment of the union's complaints in the waist and dress industry is working untold hardships on the cutters. Only recently a decision was handed down by an impartial chairman that questions the effectiveness of the preferential union clause contained in the protocol. The methods used in adjusting complaints in the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association shops are so ineffective that cutters refuse to file complaints. A worker not getting an equal share of work in the slack season has little hope of learning the outcome of his complaint before three weeks.

Conditions in the cloak industry for the cutters are about the same. One of the

problems confronting these men is the failure of the manufacturers to divide the work among them at the end of the season. The agreement with the association does not grant this to the cutters. The men have long insisted upon getting an equal share of the work, but it is feared that not until the expiration of the present agreement will the union be in a position to make this demand.

Necessity of Shop Control

Another serious problem facing the Cutters' Union is the lack of means by which conditions are to be investigated. The employment of non-union men is a common occurrence in the shops of associated employers. Whenever the associations are unable to keep the union from securing the discharge of a non-union man, they resort to legal quibbling. If that fails they flatly deny the charge. In some of the shops the union is able to secure the aid of the men in compelling the employer to maintain union standards. Very often, however, fear keeps the men from filing complaints. The union has already had the experience of seeing a cutter file a complaint, and when the business agent cross-examined the worker in the presence of the employer a denial followed. To meet the problem of investigating conditions the union must secure for its business agent the right to enter the shops. This would be the only effective means.

Good Reforms Effectuated

That the men are alive to their needs can readily be seen from the steps taken in strengthening the local. Within the past few months they have twice increased their dues. From a weekly rate of sixteen cents, which prevailed for a number of years up to less than a year ago, the rate has been increased to twenty-five cents. The members have also decided to do away with the semi-annual elections. This has been a tremendous expense. Beginning with the end of this year the union will hold annual elections. Our members hope, as the result of this change, that two things will be accomplished, (1) the saving of a large sum of money and (2) sufficient time will be allowed each official to become properly practiced in his duties.

Endorsing Socialist Candidates

Another radical step taken by the men is in the shape of political action. It may be said that the endorsement of candidates running on the Socialist party ticket is an altogether new step in our local. However, judging by the trend of events this is hardly surprising. The opinion has been expressed by many prominent labor officials that a new unionism is taking hold of the American worker. The cutter has good reasons for endorsing candidates on the Socialist ticket. He has grown suspicious of the glowing promises of Democratic and Republican politicians. He has learned what laws are when they are not made by representatives of the working-class. He has felt the policeman's club during strikes for better working conditions.

Taking it all in all, the cutters of local 10 are keeping up with the times. They are alive to their needs and they are bent on securing decent conditions. The next few months are going to be interesting times for the cutters.

Sam B. Shenker.

THE COMING CONFERENCES IN NEW YORK WAIST TRADE

On October 21st, 1918, President Schlesinger sent the following communication to the Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association:

Gentlemen:

"In compliance with the provisions of the protocol in the dress and waist industry of New York, which states that 'notice of desired changes in the protocol shall be presented by the party asking for such changes to the other at least two months prior to the expiration of any two-year period,' we beg to inform you that our Union has decided to ask for several changes in the protocol and that our committee will be ready to meet in conference with a committee of your Association to pass upon the changes, on or about November 21st, 1918."

The communication was also signed by Vice-President S. Seidman, manager of the Association Department of the Waist and Dressmakers' Union, Local No. 25.

An answer has been received from the Association that they are ready to confer with the union.

U. S. LABOR ACHIEVEMENTS IN FRANCE

"The spirit of American labor in France transcends anything that can be imagined on this side of the water. It enables our unskilled as well as our skilled labor to perform miracles."

C. Frank Reavis, Representative in Congress from Nebraska, brings this message from the battle front. In the seven weeks' tour from which he has just returned, Mr. Reavis confined his attention to France, where he visited every American hospital, every American base of supplies and every part of the line in which American troops are engaged. He says:

"One of the noticeable things about the workers in France is their complete concentration on the job that engages attention. Each man, as he labors with what appears to the allies an almost superhuman energy, attends to his own special work and pays no attention to what is going on even in his immediate vicinity. For instance, many of the men who are laying railroads had never taken time to question who supplied the ties, and when I mentioned the 20,000 soldiers working in the woods far away from the scenes of actual conflict they were surprised.

"I saw armies of mechanics and carpenters as well as armies of infantrymen and artillerymen. Think what it means to build hospitals with a capacity of from 10,000 to 16,000 beds. Imagine miles of warehouses, hangars covering acres and acres and barracks that will house troops by the hundreds of thousands."

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Benjamin Schlesinger - - - President
Ab. Baroff - - - General Sec'y-Treas.

WHY DON'T THEY VOTE TOGETHER?

By Thomas H. West.

I stood upon the sidewalk and viewed the
passing throng
Of union men, in uniform, who proudly
marched along
With flags and banners flying—how sweet
the bands did play,
It was a scene that once a year occurs on
Labor Day.

The thousands who were looking on kept
up a constant cheer
As union after union passed—how fine they
did appear,
I thought, while gazing on the scene; I'm
thinking yet, to-day—
Why don't they vote together as they march
on Labor Day?

The Allied Printing Trades passed by—a
splendid set of men;
Their mettle had been tested, and they stood
together when
The outlook seemed extremely dark, and
yet they never flinched,
But pulled together with a will till victory
was clinched.

The people had a welcome for "the men
who build the town."
The unions in the Building Trades had often
won renown.
I thought as they were marching by; I'm
thinking yet, to-day—
Why don't they vote together as they march
on Labor Day?

The boys from mill and factory, comprising
every trade
Which goes to make a city great, were in
the grand parade.
No one could help but be inspired at such
a splendid sight,
For all admire the men who stand for jus-
tice and for right.

Fraternalism reigned supreme—'twould do
a person good
To see the workers marching on in one
grand brotherhood,
I thought, while gazing on the scene; I'm
thinking yet to-day—
Why don't they vote together as they march
on Labor Day?

Knocking at Charity's Door

(A Scene)

From the Yiddish of P. S. Wald

By A. ROSEBURY

The charities building is an imposing modern structure. A few marble steps lead to the entrance. Two large, heavy iron gates swing open every morning regularly at the appointed time and remain open the entire day.

A fat elderly man clad in a worn uniform, apparently the caretaker, is almost always to be seen sitting near a big black writing table not far from the door, and through him all the applicants knocking at charity's door must pass.

The office of the superintendent is in the largest room in the building and handsomely furnished. Papers and documents are piled up in a heap on his desk, which is decorated with two magnificent pots of flowers emitting a sweet aroma. The superintendent himself, in a light shining office coat, leans back in his swivel chair, enjoying what seems a very good cigar. He is a middle-aged, well-built man with an aristocratic appearance, showing every sign of good health. His reddish-yellow hair and mustache are carefully groomed. His red lips—signs of an excellent appetite—smile benevolently. Red corpuscles seem to be very active in his facial veins, but his blue eyes are somewhat bleary. Every time his eyelids close and open a tiny drop of water appears in the corners; and when he speaks to you with his soft, musical and pleasant voice you would almost wager that he pleads with tears in his eyes.

Not far from his desk there is a row of chairs, and three applicants are waiting for their next. Not more than three are admitted at a time to the superintendent's sanctum; the rest wait in the hall.

One of the three stands at the desk with dust-covered hat in hand. He is only a shadow of his former physical self, with his energy evidently at a very low ebb. His small, gray eyes

reflect a weak, broken soul. Sandy hair sparsely grows on his head and chin like young grass just beginning to sprout. Evidently this spare being did occasionally take a shave.

In a frightened, husky voice he told his story of the motive that brought him to the building once more; for this was not his first visit, and it was a very simple story:

In that strike of the previous year he was one of the few who had not trusted the union. He had thought it plain madness to fight against a big concern. What chance had poor people to get anything out of them? It had seemed very foolish to think that when he and other workers should refuse to work the bosses will be starved out. They were rich, lived in palaces and would have small worry if the workers should go out on strike. They would just close their shops and take a vacation. Was it not better, then, to take things as they came? And so he and a few others had remained at work. After a few weeks he was proved right, for the strikers lost and returned beaten to the shops.

He had expected that the boss would promote him to a better place and a higher wage, but instead of that, when the strike was over he was discharged.

He went about looking for work, but could not find it. No one needed his services. Gradually he spent his scanty savings, and as he could not turn to the union for relief he applied for the first time, to the great charities building for support. The superintendent listened to his story, spoke soothingly and directed him to come again some other time.

Thus he was put off from time to time, and now he again stood with bowed head before the superintendent.

The superintendent appeared extremely cheerful; his red lips smiling more benevolently than ever. No doubt

he meant to do a great good thing for this man.

"I am glad you have come," he said in his soft undertone and with tears in his eyes. "I saw Fisher & Co. about you, told them of your pitiable condition, and they said you could come to work again to-morrow. They need you, you know. Hm . . . haw. The others are again becoming unruly and dissatisfied. You need not thank me. Nothing much. We have only done our duty."

The superintendent nodded to the next in line and a man about 30 years old approached humbly. This applicant had an intelligent appearance, wearing a white collar and a clean suit. He was tall and lanky, his eyes concealed by glasses, ghastly pale and with sunken, pink-spotted cheeks.

The superintendent gave him a searching look.

"What is it?"

"I am sick."

"Sick? What, consumption?"

"Yes, Sir, consumption."

"So; what do you want?"

"Perhaps you can send me to your hospital."

"Have you any parents here, brothers, sisters, family?"

"No."

"Any well-to-do friends or acquaintances?"

"None at all."

"How long have you been sick?"

"I don't quite remember, about a year."

The superintendent again sized him up and drew a sheet of paper from a corner of his desk.

In answer to further questions he elicited from the applicant that he was 33 years old, married, had two children, both boys, but that they were yet in Russia.

The superintendent put his pen away slowly and started biting his red lips.

"It is very curious," he turned to the applicant. "Yes, very curious that most of your sort of people come from Russia, and a socialist or an anarchist, no doubt, as most of you are who come to America; and how long have you been in America?"

"A year and ten months," replied the applicant, deeply grieved and offended.

"Ach so, only a year and ten months?" The superintendent betrayed his German source of origin.

He slowly lit his cigar and tucked the sheet of paper away in a pigeon-hole.

"I am sorry," he said coldly. "It seems to me that we cannot do anything for you."

"Why?"

"Because we cannot, that's all."

"But you are helping so many people!"

"Very true, but we cannot positively do anything for you. You have become sick too early, too early. You have only been here a year and ten months and we cannot go against the law. Let me explain it to you and don't get excited. There's a law, says expressly that if an immigrant gets that sickness before being three years in the country he must be sent back, you understand? America is a country for healthy people and not for sick people, that's why we cannot help you. All we can do is to ask the authorities to send you back."

"But what shall I do there, and how can I return there before getting better in health?"

"Well, if you want to stay here, you can stay, but mind, the authorities do not get to know of your state. I am very sorry for you. It is not your fault, but you got sick too early, you understand? Now don't lose heart. The main thing is not to lose hope. You have good chances to recover. Take care of yourself. Live a normal life. Don't work too hard and take plenty of nourishing food and plenty of air. You must be out in the air, then you will be all right."

"But—" The applicant wanted to explain, but the superintendent cut him short:

"But, noddings. Next!"

The next person was not there. Upon hearing the foregoing conversation he quietly slipped out of the room.

Directory of Local Unions

(Continued)

LOCAL UNION	OFFICE ADDRESS
40. New Haven Corset Workers.....	173 Edgewood Ave., New Haven, Conn.
41. New York Wrapper and Kimono Makers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
42. Cleveland Cloak and Suit Cutters' Union.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
43. Worcester White Goods and Waist Workers.....	49 Harrison St., Worcester, Mass.
44. Chicago, Ill., Cloakmakers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chicago, Ill.
46. Petticoat Workers' Union.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
47. Denver, Colo., Ladies' Tailors.....	244 Champe St., Denver, Colo.
48. Italian Cloak, Suit and Skirt Makers' Union.....	231 E. 14th St., New York City
49. Boston Waistmakers.....	724 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
50. New York Children's Dressmakers.....	22 W. 17th St., New York City
51. Montreal, Canada, Custom Ladies' Tailors.....	387 City Hall Ave., Montreal, Can.
52. Los Angeles Ladies' Garment Workers.....	218 S. Broadway, Los Angeles, Cal.
53. Philadelphia, Pa., Cloak Cutters.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
54. Chicago Raincoat Makers.....	1145 Blue Island Ave., Chicago, Ill.
56. Boston Cloakmakers.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
57. Cleveland Waist and Dressmakers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
58. New York Waist Buttonhole Makers.....	80 E. 10th St., New York City
59. New Rochelle Ladies' Tailors.....	106 Union Ave., New Rochelle, N. Y.
60. Phila. Embroidery Workers.....	2126 N. 7th St., Phila., Pa.
61. Montreal, Canada, Cloak and Skirt Pressers.....	37 Prince Arthur E., Montreal, Can.
62. New York White Goods Workers.....	35 Second St., New York City
63. Cincinnati Cloakmakers.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
64. New York Buttonhole Makers.....	112 W. 21st St., New York City
65. St. Louis Skirt, Waist & Dressmakers' Union.....	Fraternal Building, St. Louis, Mo.
66. New York Bonnaz Embroiderers.....	103 E. 11th St., New York City
67. Toledo Cloakmakers.....	813 George St., Toledo, Ohio
68. Hartford Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.....	16 Loomis St., Hartford, Conn.
69. Philadelphia Cloak Finishers.....	244 S. 8th St., Philadelphia, Pa.
70. Toronto Skirt and Dressmakers.....	208 Spadina Ave., Toronto, Canada
71. Chicago Ladies' Tailors.....	951 N. Hoyne Ave., Chicago, Ill.
72. Baltimore Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
73. Boston Amalgamated Cutters.....	751 Washington St., Boston, Mass.
74. Vineland Cloakmakers' Union.....	H. Miller, 601 Landis Avenue
75. Worcester, Mass., Cloakmakers.....	26 Columbia St., Worcester, Mass.
76. Philadelphia Ladies' Tailors.....	505 Reed St., Philadelphia, Pa.
77. Waterbury Ladies' Garment Workers.....	270 N. Main St., Waterbury, Conn.
78. St. Louis Cloak Operators.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
80. Ladies' Tailors, Alteration and Special Order Workers.....	725 Lexington av., N. Y. C.
81. Chicago Cloak and Suit Cutters.....	909 N. Homer Ave., Chicago, Ill.
82. N. Y. Cloak Examiners, Squares & Bushelers' Union.....	78 E. 10th St., N. Y. C.
83. Toronto, Canada, Cutters.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
84. Toledo Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	425 Parker Ave., Toledo, Ohio
85. Cincinnati Skirtmakers.....	411 Elm St., Cincinnati, Ohio
86. St. John Ladies' Gar. Workers' Union.....	92 St. James St., St. John, N. B., Can.
90. Custom Dressmakers' Union.....	Forward B'ldg., 175 E. B'way, N. Y. City
92. Toronto, Canada, Cloak Pressers.....	110 Augusta Ave., Toronto, Canada
98. Cincinnati Skirt Pressers' Union.....	311 Odd Fellows Hall, Cincinnati, Ohio
100. Chicago Waist, Dress and White Goods Workers.....	1815 W. Division St., Chi., Ill.
101. Baltimore Ladies' Tailors.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
102. Montreal, Canada, Raincoat Makers.....	1138 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada
105. St. Louis Ladies' Tailors.....	Fraternal Bldg., 11th and Franklin Aves.
110. Baltimore Ladies' Garment Cutters' Union.....	1023 E. Baltimore St., Baltimore, Md.
111. Cleveland Raincoat Makers.....	314 Superior Ave., Cleveland, Ohio
112. Montreal, Canada, Ladies' Waist Makers.....	1271 Clarke St., Montreal, Canada

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